1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

533 The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535 522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, *"Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!"* (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, *"Tingga, tingga, tingga."* 524

The others cry *"Mate, mate, mate"* (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

Veiwatchini is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

535 E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka, — He fears being alone,
539 E mangi au rai vakasungga, — So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka, — Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula, — But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae, — . . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e. — . . .

535 Another dance type is the *scasea*, in which, according to the natives, women
[292] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539] Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi — On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki, — We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi, — We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi. — The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava — Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata, — *Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana. — The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539] Meke mate ko nggele, — Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele, — Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele! — Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)

GAMES[2]

DART THROWING

516 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands. 272 276

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background. 291 304

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable. [197] [522]

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed. [173]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

informant said that children are occasionally burned on the arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk, is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange.

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is